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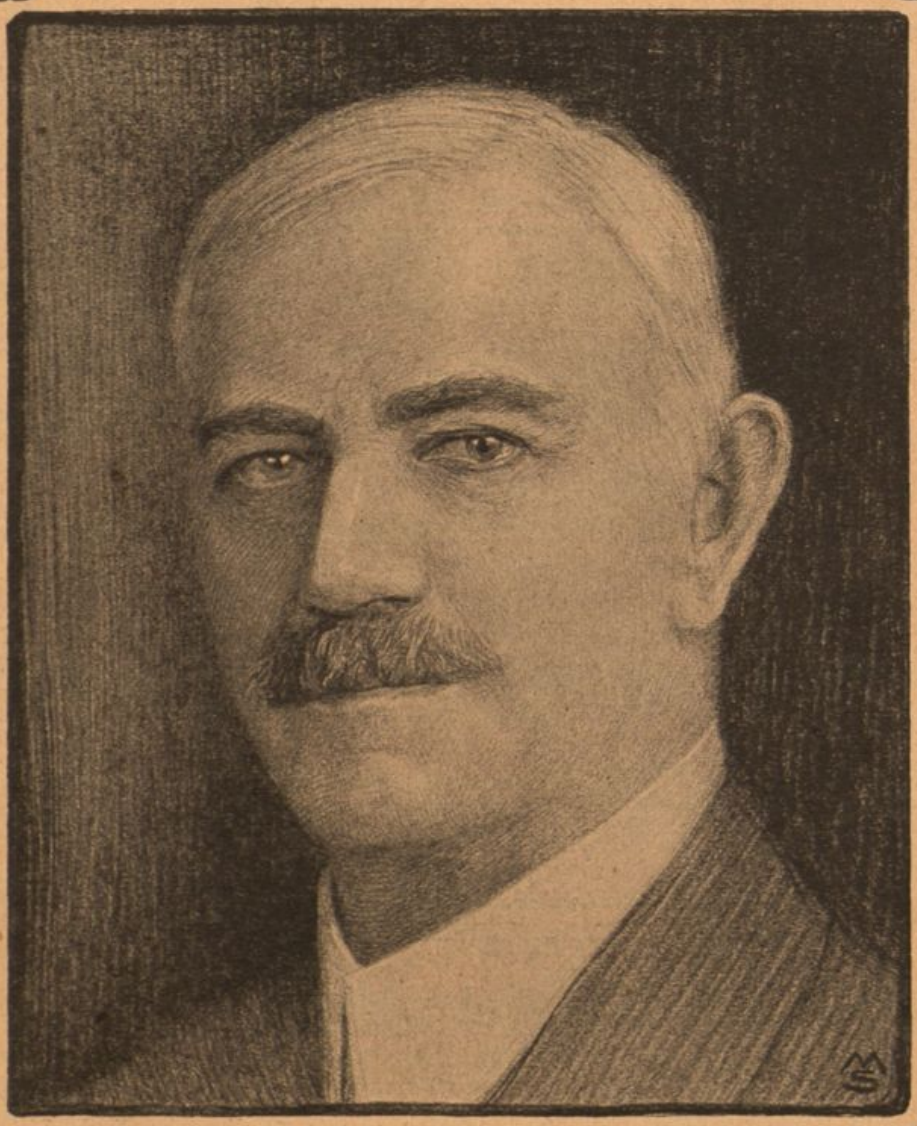

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REPRESENTATIVE JEFF McLEMORE

A VALIANT FIGHTER FOR AMERICANISM IN CONGRESS

WHO BETRAYED THE IRISH PEOPLE?

By Charles A. Collman

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WHO BETRAYED THE IRISH PEOPLE?

By Charles A. Collman

APRIL, 1916, is a month fated to be momentous in American history.

On Tuesday, April 18th, officers of the United States Federal Government arrested Wolf von Igel, an attaché of the Imperial German Embassy in his office in the Wall Street district. These men seized his papers, which included a copy of the German Code. All documents were immediately photographed, despite the protests of the German Ambassador.

A proceeding such as this is not countenanced by civilized countries. The officers of a foreign embassy and its papers are held sacred.

The Washington authorities who authorized this action cast dishonor upon the faith and integrity of the American people.

On the succeeding days the New York *Times*, unofficial organ of the British Government in this country, stated as coming from Federal officials, that there had been found among von Igel's papers, matters which would "make one's hair curl." These included evidence that trouble was being fomented in Ireland, with the connivance of persons in this country.

On April 24th (I wish to urge the reader closely to fix these successive dates in his mind), the *Times* stated that the guards about the home of J. Pierpont Morgan, in Glen Cove, had been increased, and that they were guarding the residence of this special agent of the British Government day and night.

On April 25th, the *Times* announced that "following other measures for the exclusion of strangers, the Stock Exchange authorities had notified members that in future they would not be permitted to bring guests into the rooms of the Luncheon Club on the top floor of the building. The New street entrance to the Exchange was closed to all except members, and the Wall and Broad street entrances were closely guarded."

What was the cause of this sudden panic that had struck the Morgan banking group in Wall Street?

On that same morning, April 25th, the announcement came from London that Sir Roger Casement had been captured on the coast of Ireland, after he had been landed from a German ship (this was later proved to have been a German submarine). The official statement said that the capture was made "between the afternoon of April 20th and the afternoon of April 21st." It had, therefore, been suppressed for five days. English guards were at hand at the point on the coast, having been informed beforehand where the Irish patriot would land. We shall see from what source this information came to them.

Immediately after the announcement of Casement's capture, anxiously worded statements were handed to the newspapers by Government officials that the plot for an English uprising, as learned in the von Igel papers, did not indicate the participation of any persons on this side of the water. Why? The reason will be shown.

On the day of the delayed news of Casement's capture, came the delayed story of the Dublin uprising. It also had been suppressed for two days, in order, as stated by Augustine Birrell, in the Commons, that the news might not reach "our friends in America."

Then there unfolded itself the great tragedy of the Irish rebellion of the year 1916.

Dreadful Events

I shall now arrange these dates in chronological order and explain the significance in the concurrence of events:—

April 18th.—Wolf von Igel arrested. His papers seized. Plans for a rebellion in Ireland discovered and immediately betrayed to Sir Cecil-Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador in Washington.

Spring-Rice cables the news to his home government.

April 19th.—United States officials tell the newspapers that plans for an Irish uprising were learned from the von Igel papers, and that *persons on this side of the water were* concerned in them.

England, warned by Spring-Rice, hurries guards to that part of the Irish coast where Casement is expected to land.

April 20th-21st.—Casement captured through this act of treachery on the part of American Tories.

April 22d.—English bankers in Wall Street are secretely informed of Casement's capture.

April 23d.—Morgan hurriedly doubles his guards at his home and office.

April 24th.—The Stock Exchange authorities follow Morgan's lead by placing doubled guards at all the doors of the institution run by war stock gamblers, and prohibit members from taking friends to the Luncheon Club.

April 25th.—Delayed public announcement made of the capture of Casement.

Terrified by the expected public resentment over the betrayal of the Irish patriot, Federal officials issue anxious statements that *no persons on this side of the water* were implicated in the von Igel papers.

Delayed public announcement made of the uprising in Dublin.

Now the question that history will demand is this: *Who betrayed the plans for the liberation of Ireland to the English Government?* Upon these informers will rest the execration of the world. Upon their heads is the blood guilt for the murder of Irish patriots in Stephens Green,—for the death of Irish women and children from the guns of British warships that bombarded the city of Dublin.

The Irish liberators fought against the same tyrannous country against which our ancestors of the Revolution fought.

The aims of Sir Roger Casement and George Washington were identical. The American Tories of Washington's day tried to betray him as the American Tories of our day have betrayed Casement.

Has it come to pass that in this Republic there are men so base that they would betray a noble people in their fight for liberty?

I quote the following from the New York *Times* of Friday, April 28th:—

> The *Gaelic American*, in its issue of tomorrow, will devote most of its space to bitter attacks on President Wilson and his administration. It was stated that John Devoy, editor of the paper, had written the editorial, which reads (in part) as follows:

The sinking of the German ship loaded with arms and ammunition off the Irish coast was the direct result of information treacherously given to the British Government by a member of the Washington Administration on the orders of President Wilson. It was a deadly blow aimed at the heart of Ireland, and if it does not prove fatal, it will not be Woodrow Wilson's fault.

Wilson's officials obtained the information by an act of lawlessness—a violation of international law—committed with the deliberate purpose of helping England, and it was promptly placed at the disposal of the English Government, whose servant Woodrow Wilson is. Forewarned by this most disgraceful and dishonorable act ever committed by an American President, the British fleet, which had been baffled and eluded by the arms-laden German cruiser, was sent to the right spot, the cruiser was sunk, and the Irish people deprived of the means of fighting for their rights and liberties. This was America's official expression of gratitude for the splendid services of Irishmen in the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the Spanish-American War.

The Irish people here have as good a right to collect money and supply arms to their countrymen in Ireland as J. P. Morgan and the munition manufacturers have to send money, arms and munitions of war to England and her allies. And they will not be terrorized by the petty Czar who is now King George's Viceroy in the White House. He allows not only arms, ammunition, and torpedoes to be carried as freight on passenger steamers with American women and children on board, but he allows explosives to be carried in cabins and staterooms, and this inflammable material is permitted to come in crates falsely labeled and are passed by his inspectors.

Come on, Mr. Wilson, start your prosecutions of Irishmen for "breaches of neutrality" and between now and election day you will wish that you had never been born.

Can This Charge Be True?

The indignation that swept the country over the betrayal of Casement caused great uneasiness in Washington. Spring-Rice notified Robert Lansing, of the State Department, of the receipt of a threatening letter which announced that any treatment of Sir Roger Casement other than that due a prisoner of war of the highest rank would be a sentence of death against "him and other English servants in this country."

Secretary Lansing denied the statements made by Mr. Devoy. *But it was not denied by the State Department that this Government had information in regard to the revolutionary plottings of Sir Roger Casement.*

On December 29th, 1915, I called attention to the intimate relations existing between the Washington Administration, the State Department and the Department of Justice with English agitators and informers such as J. Revelstoke Rathom, editor of the Providence *Journal*, whose pro-British propaganda is aided by Adolph S. Ochs of the *Times* and Ogden Mills Reid of the *Tribune*. I wrote:—

> Why does the President receive Rathom? Why does Secretary Lansing send for him so often? Why, on November 12th, did the Department of Justice take cognizance of Rathom's charges against diplomatic representatives of foreign powers? Why did A. Bruce Bielaski telegraph to Rathom, asking for further information? Why did Secretary Lansing have published the statement that he had on his table Rathom's charges against Washington diplomats?

Why did Morgan double his guards, why did President Noble, head of the Stock Exchange, station private policemen at all the entrances of the Exchange and forbid members to take their friends to luncheon on the top floor of the building? Why is there a steel screen on the top of Morgan's banking house and a similar one on the top of the Stock Exchange? Why are visitors still barred from the Visitors' Gallery?

The bankers and gamblers of Wall Street are living uneasy lives. It is because Morgan's shrapnel, Schwab's machine guns and the bayonets forged by the Steel Trust, sold by them for the destruction of the Germanic peoples, are now being used in the slaying of men, women and children in all the cities, villages and countrysides of Ireland.

Funds provided by the subscribers and underwriters of the Anglo-French loan are on deposit in Morgan banks and being paid out to the munition makers of Wall Street. To this purpose is devoted the money of the underwriting syndicate in the National City bank, in the Morgan banking house, in the First National Bank.

Why Wall Street Lives in Fear

That is why Wall Street has doubled its guards. It knew that millions of Americans of Germanic stock looked with hatred on the American Tories of Wall Street, who are glutted with fortunes made by the slaughter of their kindred. These Tories now know that millions of Americans of Irish blood regard them with equal hate.

For how do Irishmen feel when they see English ships loaded with guns and shrapnel, leaving New York bound for England, to supply English soldiers with arms for the massacre of the Irish people? Four such ships, destined for Liverpool, had their ports of destination altered for Ireland, when they left New York last week, after the rebellion had begun.

Into what dreadful paths are the madmen of Wall Street and Washington leading us? Step by step, driven by race hatred and money-madness, they are bringing our country nearer to an abyss. Are they deaf to the wrath of silent millions; do they stop to listen to the voice of the West, the rumble of the coming storm?

We read in the despatches from London:—

> Large forces of English, Welsh and Scotch soldiers are pouring into Ireland. The temper of these troops is bad and the soldiers are expected to show little mercy.
>
> The *Daily Chronicle* says: If reluctance to destroy bricks and mortar has delayed the bombardment of rebel buildings, it has been a very short-sighted reluctance.
>
> Again the *Daily Chronicle* says: Less than a month ago the Ulster volunteers, with rifles and ammunition marched to a hall which was being built for the Hibernians, utterly demolished it, and subjected the houses of local Roman Catholics to a fusilade of shots.

This is England, the protector of small nationalities, the England that fights for the "liberation of Belgium and Servia," which crushes the aspirations of the Irish people, by training the guns of her fleet upon their dwellings in Dublin, the while she mouths of "humanity and civilization."

George Haven Putnam, born in London and head of the notorious American Rights Committee, recently, in Carnegie Hall, denominated England as the "most beneficent country on earth." How has this beneficent country treated Ireland? I quote from an English publication, the Historians' *History of the World*, in "Ireland Under English Rule":

> The king's courts were open to every man who brought an action against an Irishman, yet, if a native were the plaintiff, the very fact of his birth was allowed, to be an effectual bar to his claim. (2) If an Irishman was murdered, whatever were his rank in the church or state, no court would undertake to punish the murderer.—J. Lingard, *History of England*.
>
> The Statute of Kilkenny.—If any man took a name after the Irish fashion, used the Irish language, or dress, or mode of riding (without saddle), or adopted any other Irish customs, all his lands and houses were forfeited, and he himself was put into jail till he could find security that he would comply with the law.—P. W. Joyce.

Mr. James K. McGuire, in his latest work, "What Could Germany Do for Ireland?"* writes:

> The object of the Gaelic Renaissance is to make Ireland Irish and arrest the progress of making her merely a West British province. Ireland should stand alone for Ireland, and save the submerging of the Celtic race. This is not Ireland's war. Her strength is in living, in saving her youth and preserving the race from death—living to create a social order which will lessen the hardships of existence, and learn that prosperity is the only sure test of the success of national experiments. Trade and vocational schools would occupy the sites of the distilleries. Industrial villages, organized on co-operative lines, copied from Germany, would take the place of the gloomy, cheerless Irish villages that give us the heartache to see them. The pitiful cry of wretched Connemara may be answered, her rich resources developed, and her bogs drained and turned into fruitful soil.

God's mercy is infinite. It is He who endows brave men with the spirit of courage and sacrifice to fight for freedom from brutal oppressors. He will yet see Ireland liberated from the curse of England's hard hand,—perhaps at this hour when Ireland's hereditary foe lies prostrate, terrified at the spectre of the ruin of her fortune and her race.

---

* What Could Germany Do for Ireland? By James K. McGuire. Price $1.00 postpaid. THE FATHERLAND, 1123 Broadway, New York City.

THE LAW IN THE CASE OF VON IGEL

THE arrest of Wolf von Igel and the seizure of his papers by American authorities constitute an indefensible breach of international law. It should be remembered that Mr. von Igel was officially announced in a communication to the State Department as a member of the German Embassy, and that his name is carried as such in the list of the Diplomatic Corps published by the State Department.

The indefensibility of the action taken by the United States Government in the case of von Igel is borne out by the following excerpts from leading authorities on international law and from the provisions in force in the United States, especially the act of Congress of April 30, 1790.

Foreign Ministers Inviolable

"The *person* of a public minister is sacred and inviolable.

"The *comités* of a minister, or those of his *train*, partake also of his inviolability. The independency of a minister extends to all his household; these are so connected with him, that they enjoy his privileges and follow his fate. . . ."—(McKean, Chief Justice, Res Publica v. De Longchamps, Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1784. 1 Dallas, 111, 116.)

The Reason for Their Inviolability

"The reasons why these privileges must be granted are that diplomatic envoys are representatives of States and of their dignity, and, further, that they could not exercise their functions perfectly unless they enjoyed such privileges. For it is obvious that, were they liable to ordinary legal and political interference like other individuals, and thus more or less dependent on the good will of the government, they might be influenced by personal consideration of safety and comfort to such a degree as would materially hamper the exercise of their functions."—(Oppenheim, Intern. Law I, 437.)

Inviolability of Ministers Extends to Their Official and Private Household

"*The persons* and personal effects of foreign ministers, of their families and *attachés*, are exempt from seizure, arrest or molestation both by the law of nations and by act of Congress."—(Moore, Intern. Law Digest IV., 646.)

"The personal immunity of a diplomatic representative extends to his household, and especially to his secretaries (R. S. Secs. 4063, 4064)."—(Instructions to Dipl. Off. of the U. S. (1897) § 53, p. 21.)

"The attachés, and the wife and family of a minister, participate in the inviolability attached to his public character. . . ."—(Halleck, Int. Law, I. p. 329.)

Inviolability Embraces Archives

"Immunity from local jurisdiction extends to a diplomatic representative's dwelling house and goods, and the archives of the mission. These cannot be entered, searched or detained under process of local law or by the local authorities."—(Instructions to Dipl. Off. of the U. S. (1897), § 49, p. 19.)

What Does Inviolability Mean?

"As regards the exemption of diplomatic envoys from criminal jurisdiction, the theory and practice of International Law agree nowadays upon the fact that the receiving States have no right, under any circumstances whatever, to prosecute and punish diplomatic envoys."—(Oppenheim, Int. Law I, 439.)

"It is a generally recognized rule of International Law that the members of a legation are as inviolable and exterritorial as the envoy himself. They must, therefore, be granted by the receiving State exemption from criminal and civil jurisdiction. . . . They are considered, like the envoy himself, to retain their domicile within their home State. And it must be emphasized that it is not within the envoy's power to waive these privileges of the members of legation."—(ibid. 454.)

"The inviolability of a minister . . . invests him with a protection, not only against unlawful . . . but also, in contradistinction from any private individual, against lawful aggression. . . ."—(Liszt, Das Voelkerrecht, 134.)

"A diplomatic representative possesses immunity from the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the country of his sojourn, and cannot be sued, arrested, or punished by the law of that country. (Revised Statutes secs. 4063, 4064). Neither can he waive his privilege, except by the consent of his government; for it belongs to his office, not to himself. . . ."—(Instructions to Diplomatic Officers of the U. S. 1897, § 46, p. 18.)

What Steps, Then, Can Be Taken Against an Offending Diplomatic Official?

"An ambassador . . . is entitled to be treated with respect. . . . If he commits any offense, it belongs, in our country, to the President to take notice of it and not to any individual citizen. The President may dismiss him or desire his recall. . . ."—(Lee, Attorney General, 1797. 1 op. 71.)

"The executive department of this government can take no proceedings against persons who have the immunity attached to the diplomatic character except to ask their own government to recall them from this country."—(Mr. Fish, Sec. of State to Mr. Darr, 2, 1871, 88 MS. Dom. Let. 173.)

Ignorance of Official Character No Excuse

"Ignorance of the official character of a person entitled to diplomatic immunities (in this case the military attaché of the French legation) does not excuse an officer who violates such immunities by arresting the person possessing them."—(Mr. Fish, Sec. of State, to Mr. Washburn, min. to France, No. 873, Jan. 11, 1877. MS. Inst. France XIX., 436.)

Immunity From Local Jurisdiction Holds Good Against Extreme Offenses

"If the crime committed by a public minister . . . affects the public safety of the country, its government may, for urgent cause, either seize and hold his person or expel him from the country by force. . . ."

"If the offense be grave, but not such as to compromise the public safety, the course is to demand the recall of the minister. . . . For implication in attempts to enlist troops in the United States, it was held that the President might send his passport to the British minister. . . ."—(Cushing, At. Gen. 1855. 7 op. 367.)

Congress, in the acts of April 30th, 1790, has defined the American point of view as follows:

Sec. 25. And be it enacted that if any writ or process shall at any time hereafter be sued forth or prosecuted by any person or persons, in any of the courts of the United States, or in any of the courts of a particular State, or by any judge or justice therein respectively, whereby the person of any ambassador or other public minister of any foreign prince or state, authorized and received as such by the President or the United States, or any domestic or domestic servant of any such ambassador or other public minister, may be arrested or imprisoned or his or their goods or chattels be distrained, seized or attached, such writ or process shall be deemed and adjudged to be utterly null and void to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.

Sec. 26. And be it further enacted that in case any person or persons shall sue forth or prosecute any such writ or process, such person or persons, and all attorneys or solicitors prosecuting or soliciting in such case, and all officers executing any such writ or process, being thereof convicted, shall be deemed violators of the laws of nations and disturbers of the public repose, and imprisoned not exceeding three years and fined at the discretion of the court.

It will be seen from the above that the United States Government had no right to lay hands either on an accredited official of the German Embassy or on his papers. If they mistook his official character or the official nature of the papers in his possession, the only thing to do is to release both with apologies.

The contention that Mr. von Igel is implicated in an offense committed before his appointment to his present office and may therefore be prosecuted is invalidated by the common opinion in International Law which holds that a diplomatic official has his residence in the capital of his own country and can, consequently, be prosecuted nowhere else and by nobody but his home authorities.

SCHWAB OF BETHLEHEM, PENN.

By R. L. Orchelle

THERE are dim wounds that muddy despots feel
At touch of honor: even the miser's soul
Some glint of light illumines and makes whole,
And many a dastard life's redeemed by steel;
Even they who pawn a nation's pride and weal
Are oft more dupes than villains, and their goal
Less wealth than fame—not so that wretch who stole
Christ's star and ours for a business seal.

Schwab—whose black mills of murder day by day,
Drip with the blood of Europe—like his hands—
Schwab, in whose groaning smithies Moloch stands
Glutted and swollen with his human prey—
Schwab, at whose touch both gold and steel decay
And flesh cries mangled from his father's land.

WILSON PERMITS RED CROSS TO AID ENGLAND ONLY

By Professor Yandell Henderson, of Yale University

(The President of Humanity, true to his course, has not taken any action regarding Great Britain's blockade of American charity. Few incidents of the war have so stirred the people of this country as England's latest act of barbarism. The following article Professor Henderson, in the New York "American," expresses the horror and indignation of one hundred million Americans.)

AT the very time when President Wilson claims to stand before the world as the upholder of humanity and international law, a fact has come to light which shows him as conniving in an act of the most cold-blooded inhumanity and in an absolute abrogation of the most solemn compact of international law.

This compact is the neutrality and inviolability of the Red Cross, according to the Geneva and Hague conventions.

It has been confirmed by every great nation in the world. It has been almost the one fixed point of international law accepted without question by all.

While such matters as the arming of merchant ships, the use of aeroplanes and submarines, the supplying of arms and munitions and the rights of small nations are questions of controversy, every civilized Government until now has accepted and supported the right of the people of a neutral nation to send hospital supplies to the sick and wounded in war on both sides without interference.

The world-wide motto of the Red Cross, the noblest of international institutions, is: Neutrality and Humanity.

"Can Aid Only One Side"

In spite of all this, on some date prior to April 18, and probably several days at least prior thereto, the British Government notified the American State Department that Red Cross supplies would no longer be allowed to pass to the Central Powers. **In other words, the British Government has issued its order that America, the one great neutral people, shall hereafter be allowed to do its humane work on one side only.**

At one stroke all the international agreements upon which the Red Cross is founded go into the discard. They are mere scraps of paper. **The world has in one day, under this British order, stepped back five hundred years toward barbarism.**

To meet this situation, President Wilson and Secretary Lansing did not threaten, if the order were put into effect, to break off diplomatic relations with Great Britain. They did not even send a diplomatic note to Sir Edward Grey supporting their argument with legal precedents and the abstract principles of humanity.

"No Action Taken"

Certainly it was to be expected that at a time when the President is appealing to the American people to support him in his stand for humanity, law and American rights as a neutral, **he would immediately have ordered the note of the British Government to be given to the press, so that it might be published in every corner of the land and rouse the conscience of the nation.**

Instead of doing this, the American State Department gave nothing to the press. To the hardworking women all over the United States, who have collected supplies for the sick and wounded men and the destitute women and children of Germany, the Red Cross communicated the cruel facts in a brief official typewritten or mimeographed announcement.

Meanwhile the President made a speech to the Daughters of the American Revolution in which he painted America as, under his guiding hand, the guardian of the rights of humanity.

Then he went before Congress—none of whose members seem to have been allowed to know of the British order—and in the name of humanity announced in effect the imminence of the entrance of this nation into the war on the side of Great Britain.

"People Hoodwinked"

For twenty-one months we have been listening to the pro-ally partisans who place loyalty to the British Crown above devotion to American ideals. They have rung the changes on the duty of the German people to refuse to follow the evil politicians who, it is claimed, hoodwinked them into war. **To-day the American people are being hoodwinked into war.**

I for one propose to put into effect the lessons which the pro-allies have preached, and to do all in my power to awake the mind and conscience of our people to the fact that **we are being led daily nearer to war solely because Woodrow Wilson's loud protestations for humanity at last need some act to support them, lest they become absurd.** We are being led into war, not for the nation's honor, but to save the President's face.

THE AMAZING TRUTH!

WOULD you like to read the amazing truth?

Then read the story of the great debate.

It will tell you an important something that few people know, but that everyone *should* know. It will tell you what has been carefully withheld from public knowledge by the newspapers of the country whose unofficial duty it was to enlighten the public to a knowledge of what is of great moment to every American citizen.

Are you an advocate of peace? Or do you tremble at the thought that there are amongst us men who are trying to drive our country into war? Are you for war? Are you for peace?

Would you like to know the attitude of your Senator on this important question, which must affect you and every man, woman and child in this country? Would you like to know how your Representative in Congress stands, whether he represents your views or misrepresents them?

If you wish to read the amazing truth, you will place yourself in the position where he cannot deceive you as to the stand he has taken in Congress.

Peace Or War? The great debate in Congress on the Submarine and the Merchantman.

This is the book that will give you a knowledge of how your Senators and Representatives think, feel, act and talk on the greatest problem that has ever come up for discussion in the halls of Congress.

The book was compiled from the Congressional Record by Dr. William Bayard Hale. Dr. Hale will tell you that there has seldom been witnessed a succession of scenes more striking in human interest or of greater historic import than those that marked the great debate which began on February 17th, in the United States House of Representatives and continued there and in the Senate until the close of the Senate session on March 8th, 1916.

Dr. Hale will tell you that no truthful account of this great debate has ever reached the public. He will show you how our American newspapers, formerly deemed uncorruptible, have combined deliberately to deceive and mislead the American people on a subject that is closer to their own personal welfare than any question ever discussed in Washington.

And every word in this volume is the Truth. It is compiled, remember, from the most authoritative publication issued by the American Government,—the official record of the statements made by the elected representatives of the American people.

The impression has gone out from Washington that the Senate and the House voted down the proposal to warn Americans off armed belligerent ships. This impression is false.

The impression has gone out that Congress washed its hands of foreign affairs and delivered their settlement into the absolute hands of President Wilson. This is equally false.

Every member of either House who participated in this most important debate in the annals of American history, is represented in this volume. In each case the full strength of his argument, or whichever side it happened to be, is reported.

A great truth emerges from this great debate. It is that the overwhelming preponderance of sentiment among both Senators and Representatives is in approval of the particular proposition that

Americans should be warned not to take passage upon armed belligerent ships, and of the general principle that the Government of the United States must not yield to the prevailing mania, must not jeopardize the advantage of its position as the world's chief neutral Power, must not be cajoled nor bribed nor taunted nor frightened into war, upon any pretext, on any ground short of the most clearly unescapable, absolute and final.

This book will tell you what Wall Street and the Wall Street-owned newspapers have tried to conceal from you with every device known to hypocrisy, deceit, subterfuge and evasion. It will tell you the truth, which they are desperately, for reasons known to most of us now, trying to keep from public konwledge. This truth is that the sentiment of the accredited representatives of the people of the United States was overwhelmingly in favor of a warning to Americans to refrain from taking passage on armed belligerent vessels.

But the significance of the great debate went far beyond this. It reached to the proportions of an admonition, the most serious ever addressed by an American Congress to an American President, that he must restrain his private prejudices to conform with the general sentiment of his fellow-countrymen.

It will tell you that it is perfectly understood by everybody in Washington that Mr. Wilson's sympathies are with the British, and that his hatred of Germany and Germans is unrestrained. It will enlighten you to the fact of President Wilson's sentimental attachment to the land where his mother and all four of his grandparents were born and with whose literature and political history alone he is familiar.

Read the great rebuke that was administered to President Wilson by Congress because of his evident desire to involve the United States in war in behalf of England.

You are not content to let the New York *Times*, the New York *Sun*, the New York *World*, the New York *Tribune*, and their syndicate newspapers through the country deceive you.

"Peace Or War?" will place you in the position of knowing what they have tried cunningly to keep from your knowledge.

Send to THE FATHERLAND and get "Peace Or War? The Story of the Great Debate in Congress." Price $1.00 postpaid.

A PEEP INTO *THE FATHERLAND'S* BOOK SHOP

THE German race has proved itself, in this war, to be the most remarkable race in the world's history. Germany's enemies acknowledge that.

Do you read German? Then you will have the inestimable opportunity of learning in the exact words and thoughts of this remarkable people what, and how they feel about the great war.

THE FATHERLAND is offering to its readers a series of ten books, published in Germany, printed in German. These books were among the last to arrive in this country, and no more will be sent, as the British, in fear of these great truths becoming known to neutrals, are trying to confiscate all printed matter from Germany.

Read "England's Blutschuld gegen die Weisse Rasse." This book will tell you the story of England's crime against the white race in inciting Japanese, Senegal negroes, Hindoos, Maori savages to wipe out her commercial rival. Price 75 cents.

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"Unser Heiliger Krieg." The first authoritative statement on the war from the pen of Prof. E. Borkowsky. Price $1.10 postpaid.

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Let this be impressed upon your mind: These books have great historic value. If you buy them, now that the opportunity is yours, you will obtain records of the war that may never come your way again.

WHAT PATRIOTIC AMERICANS THINK OF THE *LUSITANIA* CASE

(*Reprinted from* THE FATHERLAND *of May 26, 1915.*)

VICE-PRESIDENT MARSHALL said that anyone who puts his foot on a ship flying the English flag is practically on English soil.

Captain Turner, commander of the *Lusitania*, said: "Well, it is the fortune of war."

Senator T. J. Walsh: "Our citizens must yield to the warning given to keep out of the waters surrounding Great Britain or we must take the other alternative and make war. I am not yet prepared to declare that either interest or honor requires that we choose the latter."

Senatbr Wm. J. Stone, Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations: "American citizens, it must not be forgotten, went aboard a belligerent ship with full knowledge of the risk and after official warning by the German Government. When on board a British vessel they were on British soil. Was not their position substantially equivalent to being within the walls of a fortified city?"

Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock: "The loss of American lives was not caused by desire to injure America, but was incidental or accidental, and if reparation is made does not become a cause for us to abandon neutral attitude."

Senator Wm. E. Borah: "That disaster and the loss of the lives of American citizens would be calculated ordinarily to arouse great feeling throughout the country, and doubtless the American people do feel deeply upon the subject; but to my mind, the sinking of the steamship of a foe upon which happens to be found American citizens is by no means to be compared with the act of hunting out, robbing, assaulting and murdering American citizens in a neighboring country. We have lost more citizens in Mexico than we will lose on the *Lusitania*."

Representative W. L. Jones, of Washington: "Our citizens have rights, but they should not insist on exercising them in a way likely to involve us in war. When they sail in foreign ships into dangerous territory they should understand that they take the risk. Innocent people at home should not be embroiled in war on their account."

Representative A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania: "The *Lusitania* was flying the British flag, and carrying munitions of war for the support of a belligerent. Neutral passengers, who, in the face of warnings, undertook this perilous voyage, certainly assumed some risk themselves, for which the entire nation ought not to be asked to suffer."

Representative Caleb Powers, of Kentucky: "This country is not the insurer of either the lives or the safety of the citizens, especially aboard foreign vessels, who of their own volition subject themselves to the dangers and perils of the war zone, and, while this country does and should deeply deplore the sinking of the *Lusitania*, yet it should not be involved in war by reason thereof."

Governor Brewer, of Mississippi, in a statement, May 13th, declared that as Americans had been warned not to take passage on the British steamship *Lusitania* he could not understand why the United States should quarrel with Germany because Americans lost their lives as a result of the torpedoing of the vessel. "Americans were given fair warning to stay off," he said. "The passengers knew what to expect and took the risk."

Prof. George W. Kirchwey: "My advice to the President would be: Don't be too fond or too stiff about the rights of neutrals. Don't take an attitude from which you can't withdraw without war. I would make the American people count until they get over this bellicose feeling. There is no doubt that there is no right to sink living persons on ships, but I think there is need of a new law forbidding neutrals from sailing on enemy ships carrying contraband. The need of this is caused by the new emergencies and new conditions found in present maritime warfare and the recklessness of all the nations at war."

Oswald O. Villard: "A war now would be singularly unremunerative, and about as agreeable as a conflict between an elephant and an alligator. We would not get at them nor they at us. *We should be pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire if we were to send troops to Europe*, which latter action could be justified only on the wild ground that all our civilization was in danger."

Behind the Scenes at the Capital

(Special Correspondence of THE FATHERLAND.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 2.—Until Germany's reply to the latest note on the submarine campaign shall have arrived it is difficult to make an intelligent forecast of what will or may happen. That the situation is extremely critical goes without saying. The President has maneuvered the country into a position which is fraught with the gravest possibilities. But what was true a week ago regarding the sentiment in Congress is true to-day. There is no desire for war and no desire among a large majority of members other than continued good relations with the German Empire.

At the same time influences close to the White House are working with tireless energy to persuade the leading men in both branches that the only thing for the United States to do is to break off diplomatic relations with Germany.

* * * *

English delegates of high political affiliations, and close to the British foreign office, have been calling "socially" on Senators and in the thick of good feelings have categorically asked the question: What is the United States going to do to help "the mother country?" The old slogan, "blood is thicker than water," has been freely used on Senators by these British emissaries in their social discussions, but generally speaking, I understand, the appeal has not aroused any enthusiastic response.

In this way Washington has begun to get a true inkling of the conditions of the British Empire. It has ascertained that the situation is far more desperate than has been credited. By the admissions of their own agents, England is on the verge of financial collapse, and everything depends on what Uncle Sam will do.

* * * *

In their desperation Asquith and his colleagues have violated every important international rule and disregarded the claims of humanity. That Great Britain is savagely desperate is apparent from the fact that it has stopped shipments of the American Red Cross to Germany by a definite order to that effect. This, under ordinary circumstances, would be considered a direct insult to President Wilson, who is honorary president of the Red Cross. But it has inspired no protest from Washington.

During March nine shipments of Red Cross supplies were made to the Allies to the value of $31,786.62. Not a single shipment went forth to the Central Powers and their allies.

In February, fourteen shipments were made to the Allies to the value of $27,654.55. Nothing went to the Central Powers.

In January $24,802.62 worth of supplies in twelve shipments went to the Allies and three of the value of $20,976.82 went to the Central Powers. These three were the only shipments which have gone through since October 15, and were allowed to go to their destination "by special permission of the British Government" on the strength of an appeal made by ex-President Taft, chairman of the executive committee of the Red Cross, to the British Ambassador.

All in all, shipments made so far are: To France, 51; to England, 29; to Belgium, 24; to Russia, 17; to Italy, 10; or altogether, 131, exclusive of Servia and Montenegro, while all told just 12 shipments have been made to Germany, and the thirteenth shipment to the Red Cross has been in storage in Brooklyn since the end of January. Neither Taft nor Wilson is raising a hand to interfere in England's barbarous warfare on German wounded. "Humanity" does not apply to Germans or Austrians, or other less favored races than those who are helping England in this war. This situation throws a strong side-light on our boasted humanity.

If a voice is uplifted to protest or endeavor to remove this stigma on our national honor, he is immediately cried down as a hired spokesman of a German propaganda.

* * * *

Just to what extent the Germans alone are now enlisted in the campaign to stop the war, receives a striking illustration from a letter which one of the Texas Congressmen received from a prominent Democrat in his district. This Texas member has been free in his language in condemning the abuse of American rights by England and in his opposition to war with Germany. I give the letter verbatim:

Big Springs, Texas, April 21, 1916.

I have just written Senator Sheppard for myself and 20 friends, telling him that "some of the people back home" did not look with favor on the President's last move in the German matter. As the sentiment is here, I see, as not before, that many are losing interest in Mr. Wilson because of his recent acts. I feel that it is but the act of a good citizen to tell you that myself and these same twenty friends wish to say that we unhesitatingly hold up your hands in the stand you have taken in the matter. Certainly *I* have the *right* to go to our little City of Terrell if I wish to, but suppose that I hear that every one of the insane of the asylum is out and all carrying out a campaign of murder. My right to go to Terrell is no less, but I take my life in my hands when I do so. I see *no* reason in the world why our government has a right to allow any citizen to go where his going is calculated to endanger the peace and comfort of every other citizen. *Nothing like enough* has been done for us to stand by the President in such a message, and you can tell him that many of the Democrats from this neck of the woods *are not going to do it, either.* And there isn't a German living within 50 miles of here either. We commend your efforts. We hope you may gather around you more and more strength, and if we can help you let us know. We will do all we know how to do.

Respectfully,

DR. L. C. G. BUCHANAN,
and 20 others.

* * * *

The Irish revolution has not had a tendency to reassure Wilson or to encourage him in taking a too aggressive attitude on the question of war or peace. If heretofore his managers have counted on the defection of the German element, they now have to count on the defection of seventy per cent. of the Irish voters. If the Irish were more or less lukewarm heretofore, since the killing of Irish patriots in the streets of Dublin and the hopes aroused in a German triumph over England, political forecasters are facing the certainty that the Celtic element of the country will radically change to one of open animosity to Wilson in case he supports England in the same unfair and prejudiced manner that he has done heretofore. The Irish as well as the Germans are practically lost to Wilson now. Every step the administration takes to favor England will only serve to irritate the element that is hearing of brothers and fathers and cousins shot down by the proverbial red coats.

Then, again, the squelching of Roosevelt in Massachusetts and New Jersey, the 25,000 votes cast for Monnett in Ohio and the strength developed in that state by candidates for delegates to the national convention who were opposed to Wilson's warlike policies, all tend to harass the President and embarrass his efforts to bring about a break with Germany. His friends' last hope is that the German reply will be such as to enable them to kindle some sort of a political conflagration that will sweep everything before it like a prairie fire. But this seems a remote contingency.

The Boston newspapers that have reached the White House, discussing the war spirit, the "heroic" mood on which Roosevelt relied, are as tame as ducks since the defeat of the Roosevelt ticket in Massachusetts, and are not the comfort they once were. Despite the vast sum of money spent in electing Roosevelt delegates, in spite of the 20,000 telegrams sent in behalf of Roosevelt to voters on Easter morning, and in spite of all the stumping and financing in the interest of the Colonel, Massachusetts returned the sobering reply that it was tired of the Rough Rider, and sealed its verdict by a majority of 17,000 out of small vote. And now Roosevelt's friends—and that means Wilson's friends, in this case—are looking with awe and fear at the rising spectre of Henry Ford, and asking themselves what it all means.

It means that the country is not in a "heroic" mood and will have neither Wilson nor the Colonel, nor any man the Colonel may delegate to fill his former seat in the White House. This is the interpretation placed upon these developments by some of the best political thinkers in Congress, and I am merely transcribing their statements in my own way.

F. F. S.

AMERICA SENDS SYMPATHY TO FREEDOM-LOVING IRELAND

Great Mass Meeting in New York City Endorses Irish Revolution

THE following resolutions were unanimously adopted at the huge mass meeting held in the Cohan Theatre, Sunday, April 31st. Americans will thrill to the ringing declarations therein. In these lines the Spirit of 1776 lives again:

We, Irish residents of New York, in mass meeting assembled, acting within our rights as citizens and with due respect for the constitution and laws of the United States, pledge to the people of Ireland our earnest sympathy and support in the gallant struggle they are now waging against heavy odds and against the same enemy for the same objects—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—which the fathers of this Republic achieved, with the military help of another nation, in the American revolution. Remembering the splendid services of our race to the Republic in the revolutionary struggle, in the War of 1812 and in the Civil War, when England was doing her utmost short of actual hostilities to dismember and destroy it, we appeal to the generous, broadminded and liberty loving American people to give to Ireland their active sympathy and moral support and their strong condemnation of the ruthless reign of terrorism and massacre which England has already announced her determination to enforce in that country.

We affirm Ireland's right to a separate and distinct national existence and we remind the American people that the freedom of the seas, which is necessary to the world's peaceful commerce, and to no nation more than to the United States, which is now controlled and restricted by England for her own selfish interests alone, can only be permanently secured by the independence of Ireland. We affirm that, free from the blight of English rule, and the deliberate crippling of her industrial and economic life, which has prevailed for many centuries and the continuance of which is provided for by express provisions in the so-called Home Rule bill, Ireland could support a population of 25,000,000 and become a thriving hive of industries, perfectly capable of maintaining her independence and defending her rights.

We thank the government of Germany for extending to Ireland, as far as the present military situation will permit, the same kind of aid as was rendered to the infant American Republic by France. We hope that aid will be enlarged, so far as circumstances will permit; that Ireland will be recognized as a belligerent and an ally of the Central Powers, her civil and military rights asserted and a place secured for her in the congress of the nations which will settle the terms of peace. We have every confidence that by that time, no matter how their first attempt may end, Ireland will have made good her claim to such a status by successful military action.

We congratulate the Irish Volunteers on the magnificent display of gallantry and military skill they have displayed in the fighting in Dublin during the past week, and we call on all Irishmen in the United States to join the friends of Irish freedom as the only practical means of expressing their sympathy and support for the struggle for freedom in the old land. If we in America act and work as the emergency demands that struggle, no matter what its vicissitudes in the immediate future may be, can only have one ending—the writing of Robert Emmet's epitaph and Ireland taking her place among the nations of the earth.

DOWN WITH THE WAR MONGERS

HERE is a resolution introduced by Congressman Sherwood to which the friends of peace throughout the country should give their emphatic approval:

Whereas, Treaties between the United States and eighteen other governments that solemnly pledge each of the contracting parties to the principle and practice of investigation and delay before the resort to arms in the settlement of international disputes are at the present time in full force and effect, and

Whereas, Other treaties are in force between the United States and sundry other governments which specifically provide for the arbitral settlement of disputes not capable of adjustment by diplomacy or friendly composition, and

Whereas, Nine of the governments of Europe and the government of the United States have entered into treaty agreements, duly ratified, exchanged and proclaimed, to submit all controversies that threaten to interfere with their peaceful relations to an International Commission for investigation and report within one year, thus securing a delay before resort to arms that may, and probably would, prevent war, and

Whereas, The principle involved in these treaties has been assented to by other governments with which formal agreements have not been ratified and exchanged; therefore,

Be it Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate Concurring, That the sane and humane method of settling disputes between governments set out in the treaties herein before mentioned, should be employed in the adjustment of any and all controversies between the government of the United States and any other government.

There is no wireless connection between your mind and that of your representative in Congress. Write to him, tell him that you expect him not merely to vote but to work for this resolution.

Thoughts of a "GENTLY HAZED" AMERICAN

IN her benevolent anxiety to include the United States in the list of the small and weak nations which she has to protect, England overlooked Ireland.

FROM the headlines of a recent New York Tory Organ: "The Irish are All for England."

HON. JAMES R. MANN: "The Wilson administration has been for England from the first." The Irish will all vote for Wilson.

THE Official Bureau of Lies in London has declared in Orders in Council that Sir Roger Casement was insane—no, that he was purchased by German gold—no, that he was expelled from Germany —no. But oh! we give it up.

TO Mr. DuPont:
If we want a business man in the White House, what's the matter with Ford?

COL. ROOSEVELT has captured the two negro delegates from the Atlantic City district, and there is quite a boom for him in Liberia.

UP-TO-DATE metropolitan journalism: Headlines in the Sunday papers: "Offer to Murder J. P. Morgan Made by German Sympathizers, Alleged in Affidavit. New York Prisoner (Harry I. Newton) Promised to Kill Financier If Paid $10,000." Headlines on Tuesday: "Acquitted and Discharged.—Newton, Cleared of Dynamite Charge, Rearrested for Petty Larceny." If you had read the first article you could not have doubted an instant that Newton was a German dynamiter. The detectives "had the goods on him." To District Attorney Marshall: What has been done with the men who made the "affidavits"?

ANOTHER lie nailed: Cardinal Mercier did not write that impertinent and impolitic letter to General Bissing, as quoted in full in the New York *Times* and other Marconi and Lord Northcliffe organs in this country. It was written in Paris and Cardinal Mercier never saw it. This comes direct from the newspaper organ of the Vatican in Rome. Meanwhile, our Tory organs preserve a discreet silence about the prohibition of Red Cross supplies to Germany by Great Britain.

THE IRONY OF IT!

By Oliver Ames

The consignment of British flags from the United States has proven disappointing; the colors have begun to run, owing to the present shortage of German dyes in America.—News Item.

BEHOLD, the British Ensign waits
Salvation from the Teuton Fates:
John Bull buys everything he lacks
From Uncle Sam—even Union Jacks!
Barbed wire, powder, shell, and gun
J. B. assures us are A1
But enters now his bluff complaint:
"The *flags* you shipped me surely *ain't.*"
It seems indeed (excuse the tears
Of one who's loved J. B. for years)
No sooner was the batch unfurled,
To face the lightnings of the world,
Their colors all began to run—
And uncle writes: "I lacked supplies
In *red* and *blue* of *GERMAN* DYES."
Behold, the British Ensign waits
Salvation from the Teuton Fates!

EDITORIALS

NEW YORK, MAY 10, 1916

MR. WILSON MAKES A WAR SPEECH

WE have said that it is the intention of Mr. Wilson to precipitate our country into war, if possible by the 7th of May. Mr. Wilson's speech before the National Service School clearly foreshadows his course of action. The President dwells enthusiastically on the blessings of war. He points to the awakening in Germany and in France of the national consciousness on the appeal of patriotism. Would not, so his argument runs, America respond in a similar way if the United States issued a call of arms?

Mr. Wilson tells us that the number of persons of really divided allegiance in this country is very small, and that there is no reason to doubt the loyalty of American citizens born in other countries. Mr. Wilson merely expresses a truism. There are no citizens of divided allegiance outside of Mr. Wilson's own camp. The men who desire war are not even hyphenated Americans. They are Britons pure and simple. They place the interests of President Wilson's motherland above the interests of the United States.

The German Americans and the Irish have rallied to the flag in every great crisis. They will fight for the country to defend its independence, as they have fought before; they will not fight to make it a satellite of Great Britain: They will enlist in a just cause as the records of the Spanish-American war eloquently proclaim; but they will not enlist in a war deliberately engineered by unscrupulous politicians in order to perpetuate themselves in office. They will rally to the flag: they will not fight Mr. Wilson's personal battles. If Mr. Wilson has any illusions on that score, he is living in a fool's paradise.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S LITTLE JOKE

THE Allies have repaid President Wilson in his own coin. In response to his various protests, they have given him rhetoric. Whereas the Central Powers have made concession after concession to Wilson's demands, the Allies politely refuse to yield anything except thirteen thousand words of excellent English. A vein of quiet English humor runs through the entire document. One can easily imagine how Sir Edward must have chuckled to himself as he appended his signature to the reply. In one instance the fun becomes almost rollicking. We refer to the passage where His Majesty's Government "notes with sincere satisfaction the intimation contained in the concluding passages of the United States to undertake the task of championing the integrity of neutral rights." Then, fearful that the subtlety of his wit may escape Mr. Lansing's intellect, the writer expatiates as follows:

"His Majesty's Government *would welcome any combination of neutral nations, under the lead of the United States,* which would exert an effective influence to prevent the violation of neutral rights, and *they cannot believe that they or their allies have much to fear* from any combination for the protection of those rights which takes an impartial and comprehensive view of the conduct of this war and judges it by a reasonable interpretation of the generally accepted provisions of international law and by the rules of humanity that have hitherto been approved by the civilized world."

Here Sir Edward Grey is rolling his tongue in his cheek. He does not think that the public at large will "catch on," but he evidently expects the American Government to appreciate the delicious quality of his humor. Of course, England "cannot believe," in view of the attitude of the Administration, that they or their allies have "much" to "fear" from any combination of neutral nations headed by President Wilson. And yet this proposition offers to Mr. Wilson the opportunity of his life. If he takes the suggestion seriously, the joke may yet be on Sir Edward Grey.

"THE DAY"

THIS is England's black week. Ireland rises in revolt against English misrule. For the first time in several hundred years the Irish have held their own capital. The German navy twice raids the coast of England. Three times the Zeppelins swoop down from the skies. An English battleship goes down in the Mediterranean. An English torpedo boat is blown up in the channel. The would-be conquerors of Bagdad surrender unconditionally to the Sultan. Heavy defeats meet the British arms in Egypt. Is it surprising that England should exert herself to the utmost to embroil the United States with the Central Powers? Every Englishman in the United States is torturing his brain how to come to the rescue of "Anglo-Saxon civilization." The "American" Rights Committee is at its wit's end. England is desperate. The Englishmen who participate in our Government are even more desperate.

Now, if ever, let us exercise the utmost vigilance, lest harm befall the republic. For England knows that this black week is only the beginning of still blacker weeks. She may hang Sir Roger Casement, she may set fire to Dublin, but she cannot quell the spirit of independence. The news of her disasters will travel fast to India and to Egypt. England knows that "The Day" has come. She must either gain a new ally or give up the struggle, if she would save the crumbling edifice of her empire. If the United States refuses to fight their battles, the Allies will sue for peace.

MR. LANSING'S SECOND NOTE ON ARMED MERCHANTMEN

BOILED down, this lengthy document means that every armed merchantman must receive the benefit of the doubt from the captain of a submarine until it has sunk the submarine. Then the State Department will decide that the sinking was unjustified, except as a measure of self-defense. It seems strange that the same pen which signed the first note on armed merchantmen should also have written this hodge-podge of absurdities, dishonest evasions and contradictions. It is a document typical of the state of mind of the Wilson Administration on the subject of international law.

THE TELEGRAPHIC BOMBARDMENT OF CAPITOL HILL

THE telegraphic bombardment of Capitol Hill by the American Embargo Conference has aroused the ire of Senator Husting from Wisconsin. With his speech against the right of petition Senator Husting has pronounced his own political doom. The old type of politicians made "deals" in the dark corners of club houses and of cloak rooms without consulting the people. This type, to which Husting evidently belongs, will be swept away by the new wave of democracy. We elect Senators to represent us, not

the Powder Trust. Even their own views must be subordinate to the views of their electorate. We do not send men to Congress to ride their hobbies, if their hobbies are headed in the wrong direction.

We have been warned that a strong coterie, whose influence extends to the White House, desires to array the United States on the side of the Allies by the seventh of May. Now is the time to protest. If the people of Europe had protested before the sinister forces of secret diplomacy precipitated them into the war, that calamity would have been averted. Let the protests against war by mail and wire continue until, like an avalanche, they have buried the war mongers. Write to your Congressman, wire to your Senator, and if you live in Wisconsin, sternly rebuke Senator Husting for his insolent attack on your constitutional rights.

THE GERMAN AMERICAN AND PREPAREDNESS

THE FATHERLAND is in favor of preparedness but not as a weapon in the hands of those who are at present exploiting the issue.

Would you place a loaded revolver into the hands of a baby? Would you place a powerful army into the hands of an incompetent Administration?

Would you place a loaded pistol into the hands of a maniac? Would you entrust Theodore Roosevelt, insane for war, with powerful military resources?

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PLAYING WITH DYNAMITE

THE Los Angeles *Times*, advertised as "the greatest newspaper in the world," is a unique publication. Its editors have the perfect freedom to write what they please on any subject that does not affect Big Business. Thus, under Willard Huntington Wright, its literary columns were delightfully refreshing. Literature does not touch the pockets of its owner, General Otis. Until recently the Los Angeles *Times* was mildly pro-German, or at least impartial. Of late, so we are informed by readers of THE FATHERLAND in Los Angeles, the *Times*, like its namesake in New York, has become venomously anti-German. Evidently General Otis and his friends have invested heavily in Anglo-French bonds. In a recent editorial headed "The Treason of Viereck" the *Times* takes the editor of THE FATHERLAND to task for disagreeing with President Wilson. It suggests a coat of tar and feathers and deportation as an adequate punishment for this crime.

General Otis is evidently under the impression that the United States is at war with Germany. According to the penal code of the United States: "Whoever, owing allegiance to the United States, levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid or comfort within the United States or elsewhere, is guilty of treason." While to an impartial onlooker it would almost seem that the United States has committed open acts of war against the Central Powers, we are nevertheless at peace with the Germans. The fact that the poor General thought otherwise merely proves the justice of our contention that the Government is guilty of severe infractions of neutral conduct. But while we are at peace it is impossible for us to commit "treason" to the United States. We would, however, be morally guilty of treason, if we did not oppose with every ounce of strength that is in us the vicious policy of the Administration.

Freedom of speech is the most sacred of our possessions. It is our only safeguard against tyranny. The man who suggests the intimidation of editors is playing with dynamite. The moment we attempt to strangle the press, the entire structure of our constitution comes crashing down. Intemperance and intolerance on the part of vested interests are the parents of anarchy. Evidently the deplorable episode of the McNamara brothers has not taught General Otis a lesson. If we were to reply in the same tenor in which we have been attacked, the General would, no doubt, consider himself vilely abused. We prefer to remain firmly planted upon the rock of constitutional rights and unfailing good manners. God save the splenetic General from his own billingsgate and from the torpidity of his liver.

THE DEFEAT OF T. R.

THE defeat of T. R. in Massachusetts has opened the eyes of the Republican leaders. Roosevelt cannot get the Republican vote. He may control the machinery of the Progressive Party, but he cannot poll even the Progressive vote. Roosevelt cannot carry a single State in the forthcoming election. Roosevelt may claim that he was "not a candidate" in Massachusetts. Neither was Ford a candidate in Michigan. But the people of Michigan wanted Ford. The people of Massachusetts repudiated T. R. Even the twenty-two thousands dollars spent in that State for telegrams to every registered Republican voter failed to elect the delegates singled out by George W. Perkins.

The country is not in a mood for Roosevelt's mock heroics. The German vote and the Swedish-American vote, as we have repeatedly pointed out, constitute the backbone of the Republican Party. Without that vote, no Republican candidate can be elected. Neither Roosevelt nor Root has the ghost of a chance against the solid opposition of these powerful groups. The rank and file of the Republican Party stand for peace. Jim Mann, not Elihu Root, is their spokesman. Mr. Roosevelt blew himself up like the bullfrog in the story. He hoarsely croacked for WAR, but the echo that came back to him from the Republican forest was: FORD.

A BRITISH ARMY SURRENDERS

FOR the first time since Yorktown a British army has unconditionally surrendered. On April 30th, General Townshend and his thirteen thousand English troops laid down their arms at Kut-el-Amara and gave themselves up *en bloc* to the Turks who so brilliantly entrapped them. The vanquished army was all that was left of the original expedition which almost half a year ago started out 60,000 strong to capture the ancient city of Bagdad. The loss of General Townshend's force is irrespective of the military disaster involved, a crushing blow at British prestige not only among the millions of Mohammedans in India but also among her European allies. The newspapers have given but little notice to this brilliant achievement. The names of the victors are unchronicled and presently our "military experts" will prove that in reality the capture of Townshend, four major generals, five hundred and ten officers and their men is a triumph of British skill.

Fourth German War Loan

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THE deliberate attempt on the part of the officers of the Guaranty Trust Company and the National City Bank to defy public sentiment is to me one of the strangest records of obtuseness that I have ever witnessed in Wall Street. When bankers such as these lose the public confidence, they are lost.

But the Guaranty Trust Company and the National City Bank are determined to make a $100,000,000 loan to Russia. They have been warned against this repeatedly by Jacob H. Schiff, one of the premier bankers of Wall Street, a man known for his integrity, his sincerity and his power. Mr. Schiff has told these men that if they make the loan to Russia, they will regret the step. All the world knows that in the United States there are more fugitives from Russian oppression than any country in the world harbors. All the world knows the story of their wrongs.

The Guaranty Trust Company persists. It is issuing pamphlets in an attempt to start an artificial propaganda in favor of the loan to Russia. It hopes to reap enormous commissions from the bankrupt country. It tries to delude the public into the notion that the United States can wrest from Germany its trade with Russia. A palpable absurdity, such as is easily recognized and admitted by any economic authority.

Now the National City Bank has crossed the Rubicon. It has sent to Russia two of its vice-presidents, Samuel McRoberts, senior vice-president, and Charles V. Rich, vice-president in charge of the bank's bond department. They have sailed for Russia via Bergen, Norway, in order to settle the details of the Russian loan on Russian soil.

The strange fatuity of tnese bankers, blinded by the Morgan influence, is a matter that awakens emotions of pity in the minds of those who know the true inwardness of Russian finance.

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"MANLESS BERLIN"

By Louis Viereck

(*Staff Correspondent of* THE FATHERLAND *in Berlin*)

FOR the past century it has been the custom in Prussia to take a general census every five years. Because of the war, however, the census which was due on December 1, 1915, could not be taken. Nevertheless, the fact has been established from the official statistics on the changes in the population in the capital, that the population again decreased in the past year by several thousand. Whereas Berlin had over 2,000,000 inhabitants before the war it now has only 1,835,000! The political unit "Berlin" within the administrative district of Greater Berlin may be compared with the importance of Manhattan in Greater New York, with the difference, it is true, that the old section of the German metropolis constitutes almost one-half of the whole city, whereas Manhattan forms only a very small part of the whole. It may be said that Greater Berlin has already suffered a loss of a third of a million people, probably even more, since the greatest increase is due to the large reserve garrisons in the barracks or the thousands of sick and wounded in the hospitals almost all of whom stay in the city only temporarily.

How is this striking decrease in population in a community which is obviously prospering despite the world-war as is the case with Berlin to be explained? Since the fact has been established that despite, perhaps even because of the scarcity of food the state of health is excellent, the mortality has greatly decreased and the number of births comparatively little, the decrease is due solely to the circumstance that hundreds of thousands of men have gone to war, so many, in fact, that their number may be estimated at almost one-tenth of the entire population.

Almost all the men capable of bearing arms between the ages of 20 and 40 as well as many of the older men who have served before and even volunteers under 20 have been called to the colors. Those of eligible age who have remained behind are only the foreigners, those who are for some reason not fit for service and finally the rather large number of those who are indispensable in their offices, businesses or factories. Besides these there are the men who are occupied with the training of the reserves,

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and especially in the military workshops, aeroplane stations and in similar positions and, finally, the steadily increasing and changing contingency of field-grays who are home on leave for their health or on private business.

If the above facts are kept in mind the picture of "manless" Berlin as it is at present rises before one. Youthful and older men are the rule, those between 20 and 40 are mostly to be seen only in field-gray, and the eternal feminine is in the overwhelming majority. One need only go to a large concert or to the theatre and estimate the percentage of men present! In other public places, too, especially in restaurants, where men are usually greatly in the majority, women are now more numerous, to say nothing of all the positions which were formerly occupied exclusively by men and which are now filled by women. It may even be said that female labor has forced its way into almost all the branches which were formerly regarded as the monopoly of men and is evidently endeavoring to make a place for itself in the small number which still remain.

It is an extremely interesting problem how social conditions will be affected after the war by this female invasion into masculine domains, and even more, how the entire woman's question will be affected. It is well-known that even before the outbreak of the war the female population in the German Empire exceeded the male by about a million. Even if the horrible slaughter should reach an end by next winter a change in the structure of society must be reckoned with, in which the number of women will exceed that of the men by several millions. Even now it is estimated that the war has caused a deficit of from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 men for all of Europe.

So much is absolutely certain, in any case, that in almost all of Europe and not least of all in Germany the female population will for a long time to come constitute the overwhelming majority and will therefore give the entire epoch its peculiar character. The effect which this transformation in society must have on all conditions is, of course, not yet certain. Opinions differ to such an extent on this point that one side foresees the supremacy of the feminine element and of feminine ideas, whereas the other side deduce from the fact of the minority of men an increase in the latter's power.

A clever young author, Dr. Robert Scheu, answers this question in the affirmative and—consciously or unconsciously under the influence of Schopenhauer—makes the following noteworthy observations:

"The female sex owes its power principally to its ugliness; that is to say, the small number of good-looking, desirable women gives them a privileged position which reacts on the whole sex and which gives it its power. After the war conditions will be reversed. The desirable men will be so much more desirable because of their scarcity. The age will in consequence

become more masculine! The argument might also be raised, it is true, that because they will be the ones wooed the men will develop feminine qualities and the age will then all the more acquire a feminine character. We have just learned in the war how easily one can be deceived in this respect. There has never been an age so feminine in character as that which gave birth to the world-war. The power of the women proved to be a phantom. The erotic power of the women in the conflict of the sexes will also be broken off by the loss of millions of men. We cannot guess what the woman of tomorrow will be like and how she will adapt herself to the new situation. Nature will find a way. She will create a new type of woman and she will bring about unsuspected changes in the relations of the sexes."

So much for the Viennese philosopher on civilization. No one will be able to prophesy more than he with any degree of certainty. But even today it may be asserted, without fear of being refuted by contradictory events, that at present there are few places in the world better suited for the study of the future development in this field than "manless" Berlin.

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Edited by
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